

PEACE NEWS

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Whips-and Scorpions

WHILE fairly encouraging reports of relations between the Germans and the inhabitants of the occupied countries have appeared in the British press, notably in *The Times*, Holland has been a conspicuous exception. The arts of the notorious Dr. Seyss-Inquart have apparently not succeeded in mitigating the tension between the Hollanders and their conquerors. We had wondered why this was so, and we had been inclined to attribute it to the fact that the Dutch are the most closely akin of all the conquered nations to the Germans themselves—the nearest thing left to *Auslandsdeutsche*; and that the Germans were revenging themselves on the Dutch reluctance to welcome them as fraternal liberators.

A more direct explanation, though not inconsistent with this one, is afforded by a statement issued by the Dutch Legation in Washington, and quoted by Mr. Villard in *The Christian Century*.

The crime against Rotterdam was a deliberate, fiendish assault on unarmed, undefended civilians. . . . The result was the greatest mass destruction the world has so far known. In the 74 minutes the planes were over the city, thirty thousand people died—four thousand unoffending men, women, and children per minute. Seventy thousand others were maimed and injured.

That takes some forgetting and forgiving. We do not wonder that the people who have been subjected to such deliberate devilishness are stubbornly recalcitrant to German domination. The devilishness itself we can explain only as the outcome of a particular sense of frustration. Less than any other nation, for the peculiar mentality of German racialism, had the Dutch the right to resist them. This diabolical massacre was their punishment.

We understand—only too well—the reaction of those who, reading such an account, feel that there is nothing to do but fight such brutality. But there is fighting and fighting. And when those who say: "There is nothing to do but slowly starve the peoples who have been compelled to submit to the tyranny of Germany," then it means that diabolism has taken possession of them also. The Germans have chastised them with whips; but we will chastise them with scorpions—in defence of their freedom and for the good of their souls.

It is too horrible. From the bottom of our hearts we proclaim that defeat is better than the deliberate commission of this appalling sin. Yet no fewer than 140 M.P.s. have put their names to a motion demanding that the Government shall refuse to pass food to the occupied countries through the blockade. Some of the proposals lately made by responsible newspapers are nothing less than abominable. The *News Chronicle* soberly suggests that we should gather together vast stocks of food at our ports and tell the conquered peoples that they were there ready to be rushed to them as soon as the Germans withdraw. A more inhuman suggestion has seldom been made; yet its author probably considers himself an angel of light in comparison with the German ravagers of Rotterdam. For ourselves, like Jeremiah, we would definitely prefer to have our children killed outright by a bomb than watch them slowly starve.

Nor can we have it both ways. We cannot, without a fatal duplicity, at one and the same time pretend that there is no danger of starvation in the conquered countries, and maintain that the food-blockade is essential to our victory. The food-blockade is a means to "victory" now only on the assumption that it will starve the occupied countries. It is precisely in order to create starvation, if we can, that we enforce the blockade, and pretend that it is not serious; to do your utmost to starve

WHERE IS OUR FREEDOM?

By Vera Brittain

IT is singularly appropriate that this week of intensifying national warfare should have witnessed, on August 20, the experimental production at the Neighbourhood Theatre of Winifred Holtby's posthumous drama *Take Back Your Freedom*. In case the run of this play should be a short one, I hope that readers of *Peace News* will go to see it in the opening days.

Unlike such now famous dramas as *Glorious Morning*, *Idiot's Delight*, and more recently, *Margin for Error* the theme is not that of foreign dictatorship. In Arnold Clayton, the ex-Oxford don who becomes Leader of the Planning Party, Winifred Holtby endeavoured to portray a totally different species of dictator from Hitler, Mussolini, or even Sir Oswald Mosley. Her knowledge of the university world had taught her the emotional conflicts which sometimes torment the academic mind, and Clayton represents a highly organized intelligence driven to extremes by fierce reaction against scholarly hesitation and philosophic doubt. He uses war as the chief instrument of his policy because, like all dictators, he realizes that war, whether successful or unsuccessful, is more likely to spread totalitarianism than to check it.

Fascist Methods Grow

Whatever the final result of the present war, the most militant patriots could not argue that it has so far reinforced the ideal of liberty. Not only is the whole continent of Europe under totalitarian control, but war has seen in this country also that development of fascist and even Gestapo methods which pacifists always prophesied would be the consequence of opposing violence by violence.

In the famous little book which is now a classic, Lord Ponsonby stated that truth is the first casualty in wartime. If truth is the first, charity—the spirit of humanity and compassion—is certainly the second. But freedom is undoubtedly the third.

Although we are ostensibly fighting for liberty, and—as the Metropolitan Police Magistrate pointed out at the Poster Trial—many of the young pilots now going to their death in the Battle for Britain believe it to be for freedom that they are giving their lives, each new period of crisis has so far seen a tightening of the defence regulations and a new official drive to restrict the expression of opinion.

Decline of Liberties

Since the war started in earnest with the invasion of Scandinavia on April 8, evidence after evidence of the decline of our liberties has appeared in arrests and prosecutions for small and in some cases virtually manufactured offences;

your friends, and pretend that they cannot be starving—this is merely to add hypocrisy to inhumanity.

For the sake of preserving the vestiges of our good name, if nothing more, let us come clean about this thing. Let us at least declare that we will welcome any impartial investigation by America into the food situation in the occupied countries, and that, if a responsible American commission declares that the danger of privation exists, we will permit the necessary food-supplies to be imported on condition that they are under the same kind of control which Mr. Hoover exercised so beneficently during the last war. By doing this we lose nothing at all, and we gain infinitely. It is an infinite gain to be saved from descending to the level of the ravagers of Rotterdam.

in the interment and humiliation of friendly aliens; in various forms of private espionage carried on with semi-official encouragement; and in anti-Fifth Column drives which have misrepresented the sincerity of Friends and other pacifists, and have sought to identify some of the most loyal lovers of this country with its enemies.

Such propagandist experiments as "The Silent Column" and "Cooper's Snoopers", however laughable and fantastic in themselves, have also added to that uncomfortable sense of constant unseen supervision which during the past few years has made the inhabitants of Nazi Germany afraid to hold conversations over the telephone or to meet their friends in public places.

We are frequently told, especially by American newspapers, that our "morale" in the face of the present aerial Blitzkrieg arises from our stubborn devotion to liberty. "The British," announced the *New York Times* in a leading article a few days ago, "have one priceless asset worth more than all their defences—the calm, disciplined, steady spirit of a free people. The common people of Britain are giving inspiration to mankind." Yet every new regulation, arrest, prosecution and internment limits that priceless freedom and threatens its annihilation.

Struggles for Freedom

Fortunately, just because we are stubborn and independent people with a long tradition of liberty, we are not prepared to let our freedom be impaired without a struggle.

Our Andersons and Duff Coopers are constantly and healthily pilloried by public opinion; a truculent fighter like Mr. Ernest Bevin defends with his ministerial powers the minority rights of conscientious objectors; the newspaper editorials and questions in the House of Commons have not been without their effect. The more lenient treatment of persons arrested for "creating alarm" or "causing despondency" is one such consequence; the belated attempts to introduce compassion and commonsense into the panic stricken chaos of government departments dealing with aliens is another.

Public ridicule destroyed the "Silent Column"; public criticism of injustices done by local authorities to conscientious objectors who had already been accepted and registered by official tribunals, produced the recent Home Office Circular to Local Education Authorities with the vital clause which runs:

The first principle to be observed is that in this country no person should be penalized for the mere holding of an opinion, however unpopular that opinion may be to the majority. It follows that mere membership of any organization which has not been declared to be unlawful does not of itself afford any cause of action against a public servant.

The comparative effectiveness of such criticism lays a permanent duty on pacifists as on other minorities. None of us need feel that, because we cannot stop this war or immediately sponsor a negotiated peace, our usefulness to the community of which we are part is temporarily at an end.

Quite apart from that maintenance of rational judgments and charitable values which is our special function, we have a definite task to perform in opposing the growth of totalitarianism wherever we find it, and in helping to maintain an England which is still in a position to take back all that she lost of her freedom when the war comes to an end.

A PACIFIST COMMENTARY

What Mr. Hoover Proposes

EDITED BY "OBSERVER"

IT is important that we should be clear as to what Mr. Hoover's proposals for feeding the occupied countries actually are. The relief-work, he proposes, should be undertaken by a neutral non-Government organization.

This would require that Germany should agree (a) to take none of the domestic produce of the occupied countries; (b) to furnish an equivalent of any food already taken; (c) to permit imports from Russia and the Baltic States; (d) to allow the free passage of ships without attack; and (e) to permit adequate control of distribution by an organization so as to enable it to assure that those guarantees are carried out. On the other side, the British must agree that ships carrying cargoes solely of food for these people should be allowed to pass their blockade so long as the guarantees were fulfilled.

Those proposals themselves are such that they dispose completely of the argument that Germany would be enabled to draw upon the food-supplies which we allowed to pass.

Dr. Goebbels's newspaper, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, has declared that Germany will not feed the occupied countries from her own supplies. "Do the English really imagine that our food-supplies, which are indeed great, are destined to feed the friends of Eng-

UNPATRIOTIC

SEVERAL public bodies have lately passed resolutions terminating the employment of any persons working for them who have pleaded conscientious objection to military service.

I regard this as utterly deplorable and in the deepest sense unpatriotic. We are fighting for freedom, including freedom of conscience as its most vital and sensitive element. The State has recognized the reality of conscientious objection to military service, and it is part of our glory that it does this.

—The Archbishop of York in the "York Diocesan Leaflet."

land this winter?" *The Times* finds in this statement a complete justification for maintaining the British blockade.

Dr. Goebbels's statement is a justification of a sort for refusing to supply the occupied territories from our own stores; it is no justification at all for refusing to allow Mr. Hoover's scheme to be operated. From the Government's own point of view, to say "No!" to Mr. Hoover will be a moral blunder of the first magnitude.

"Greenwood Must Go"

THE *New Statesman* has at last come out with the definite proposition: "Greenwood must go!" It does not put it like that, of course. But it comes to the same thing.

It is strange even to me, who have no great opinion of Mr. Greenwood, and discovered nothing commendable in his warlike orations last September, that he should have failed so completely to recognize the elements of the problem of organizing the national production for war. I wonder what was the content of the socialism which Mr. Greenwood professed. As far as

A Pacifist Commentary

one can tell from his speeches and actions, the idea that there was such a thing as capitalist production, and that it was inherently impossible to organize it effectively for any common national purpose whatsoever, without changing its nature in the process, had never really entered his head.

One may say of him (in the kindest possible spirit: see below) what Marx once said of the Germans: that he is beneath the level of history.

Mysterious "Enemy Agents"

I AM disappointed to find *The Tablet*, which I have been accustomed to regard as a very honourable organ of Roman Catholic thought, encouraging the view that pacifists are members, or rather associates, of a "fifth column."

Wittingly or unwittingly, well meaning English citizens are made to serve or to subserve the purposes of the enemy. Not a few civil servants are pacifists or conscientious objectors, and are found to associate openly or otherwise with enemy agents who are engaged in the work of German propaganda.

An accusation of that kind should be specific. *The Tablet* would, very rightly, object to dark and vague insinuations concerning the sinister influences and connections of Roman Catholics. It should be equally scrupulous about pacifists.

Who are these enemy agents engaged in the work of German propaganda, anyhow? It seems very strange, in view of the Government's copious powers of internment, that they are still allowed to circulate freely in society. Would it not be simpler for *The Tablet* directly to draw the attention of the Home Office to their activities, so that the well-meaning English citizens may be saved from peril?

Air-Raid Test

ON the whole, Britons, pacifist and otherwise, have some cause to be satisfied with the results of the intense air-raids during the last week. The British people have stood up to it very well. So far as my information goes the sudden panic which many feared has not occurred.

The capital of the province where I live—I put it that way in order that the Germans may glean no information—was rather badly strafed twice in a week; but the people took it as part of the day's work. I happened to be summoned to appear as a witness at the courts a day or two after a few particularly vicious bombs had fallen. There were two air-raid warnings in quick succession. The magistrates carried on without a moment's interruption. And it seemed to me that they judged calm and righteous judgment, too.

So, just now, I am inclined to think that Britain will be heard of in the future, after all.

Can Good Come From War?

THIS, I am sometimes vehemently reminded, is a *pacifist* commentary. And quite frequently I am accused of putting my pacifism in my pocket while I write it.

Thus, for example, my recent words. "I think that it is possible that the

only way of imposing some sort of unity upon Europe may be by military conquest" have aroused this response. "I thought that our line was that war could never bring about good in any shape or form." I rub my eyes at that. If that dogma is essential to pacifism, I am no pacifist. Anyhow, I cannot attach positive meaning to it; and I am quite certain that it is impossible to interpret history on the basis of such a dogma.

The truth is rather that certain kinds of good—and those of supreme value—cannot be established by war. Political unity is not a good of this order. And the supreme value, for the pacifist and the Christian, is the relation of love in human society. That cannot be established by war: though it is quite conceivable that it is only after humanity has endured the unspeakable hell of a prolonged period of modern war, and because it has endured it, that it will begin to acknowledge that the relation of love is the supreme good—the condition of true life, both in this world and the next.

"Imagination" Wanted

I SHOULD have thought that the practical test of whether commentary is pacifist or not is whether it strives "to set down naught in malice."

Ideally, it should always be informed by the spirit of love. But that is too high an ideal for me. I am prone to righteous anger, and some of the unrighteous sort as well. There is a certain kind of unimaginative "patriotism" which never fails to make me go all hot under the collar; and, unfortunately, a certain kind of unimaginative "anti-patriotism" has the same effect. Nevertheless, I try to curb my pen, and be as fair as I can, particularly to people who make no effort at all to be fair to pacifists. Still, I realize that it takes a saint to write a truly pacifist commentary; and I am quite out of the running.

But my own private name for the essential pacifist virtue is "imagination." To speak of "love", except occasionally, would cramp my style.

On Being Realistic

ONE correspondent complains that *Peace News* does not give enough spiritual sustenance; another that we are drifting into liberal claptrap, because we endorse Mr. Wells's suggestion that a practicable armistice will have to make a beginning with the abolition of national armies, if it is not to be based on the capitulation of one side or another. He finds that impossible to reconcile with our realistic candour concerning the coming of a centrally controlled and planned society "wherein whatever liberty we enjoy (other than the liberty of martyrdom) we shall enjoy by permission."

I fail to see our correspondent's difficulty: except that he supposes one statement is "idealistic," the other "realistic." But those categories are of his own invention. Both statements are equally realistic.

Nothing whatever forbids the creation of a federation of totalitarian societies. True, that is not what most advocates of federation imply by the

word. And the word "totalitarian" needs a volume of commentary. See the article "The Problem of Freedom" in the August *Adelphi*.

The Knowing Wink

I TRAVELLED in a railway-carriage the other day with an intelligent soldier who spent some time in persuading three sisters returning to the Fen-country from a shopping expedition, that Hitler would be beaten by October. "He can't hold out," he said decisively, and then added, more vaguely, "The economic position." "Now, that's the most encouraging thing we've heard so far," said the sisters.

Meanwhile, a Cockney soldier opposite winked at me. It was an expressive and inimitable wink. I knew—and didn't know—what it meant. But the knowledgeable soldier went on to say that bromide was always put in the soldiers' tea; and that it had a curiously depressing effect after a while. It had taken him three days of his week's leave to work it out of his system.

Since my Cockney friend did not wink at this point, I was left to conclude that the bromide is a fact.

"Do What You Do!"

"DO you think," writes a reader, "this point could be mentioned in *Peace News*? It is this: that whatever

pacifists find to do in these circumstances, let them do it well.

"What is the motto? *Age quod agis*. (Do what you do!) I feel that even if a CO goes so far as to join the RAMC, we can commend or damn the movement in the eyes of his fellows according to the quality of his work there."

I think it goes to the heart of the matter.

Good Neighbours

I BELONG to a country association of bee-keepers—most of them, as the craft demands, pacific, but by no means pacifists. Nevertheless, at our meeting the other day one of them said to me that he found himself with plenty to do; since the association had entrusted him with the job of looking after the hundred hives of a German member who was interned.

It was a slight but precious evidence that the monstrous treatment we have officially meted out to refugees is quite alien to the spirit of the simple Englishman. The German bee-keeper was a good neighbour; and the English bee-keepers are being good neighbours to him. But I heard, too, how a promising effort to form an agricultural community of Jewish-Christians had been ruined at one blow by the internment of its most active members.

IS SLAVE LABOUR THREATENED?

How Pacifist Movement Could Prevent It

A VERY large number of conscientious objectors are now being instructed by the tribunals to undertake "agriculture." But, up to the present, the Government itself has made no provision for these men. For the most part, they can only find their specified occupation by chance or by the favour of a considerate farmer.

Thus an impasse is being created, and if this position remains unmitigated by pacifist effort, the Government will, very shortly, be obliged to place COs in a category, along with the unemployed and the "aliens," and to provide its own organized schemes for their employment.

The Government will probably form Labour Camps and make attendance at them compulsory to COs. At these Camps the men will be taught—not agriculture, but merely some limited and industrialized form of agricultural labour, such as tractor-driving, fruit picking, road-making, sugar-beet lifting, afforestation or land-reclamation. Then, as soon as the CO becomes efficient in the mechanical or labouring task especially assigned to him, he will be drafted into a travelling labour-gang and permanently degraded to the lowest rank of industrial servitude. The word "agriculture" now being used so politely by the tribunals, will become synonymous with slave-labour.

Take the Initiative

This kind of thing appears most probable unless the pacifist movement as a whole seizes the initiative and takes corporate action on behalf of its younger members.

At the moment it is possible to forestall Government action in this matter if all the pacifist societies will co-operate to provide means whereby pacifist small-holdings may be established all over the country. A number of pacifist communities have already given a lead in this direction, but their efforts have been sporadic and undertaken without the authority and the backing of the pacifist movement as a whole. These can be firmly established and their number increased to meet the growing need, and to prevent the Government from stepping in, if the various pacifist societies now in existence will join in giving them their support.

With initial assistance pacifists will be enabled to work out their own salvation, through a period of social

A Suggestion by MAX PLOWMAN

chaos, by becoming integral parts of a new order of society—an order in which they can become *real* agriculturists, holding their own co-operative small-holdings and in fact forming the nucleus of this new society.

The Choice

The choice before us is whether the young CO is to be left to become a social outcast, and what amounts in practice to a slave-labourer, or whether to permeate the existing body of society and obtain so firm and revolutionary a lodgement within it that social revolution will only strengthen his position.

This, I am sure, should be a matter of immediate concern to all the pacifist societies; for unless co-ordinated help and support are forthcoming *quickly* the opportunity for far-reaching action, now to hand, will be lost: we shall lose the initiative and the Government will act with consequences similar to, if not precisely, those foreshadowed.

Joint Conference?

I would therefore ask those who are influential in the pacifist movement to convene a joint conference of pacifist societies as soon as possible, at which the whole position may be reviewed and joint action agreed upon.

The status of pacifists (and of pacifism) now hangs in the balance. If we allow the situation to deteriorate any further, it is most probable that the many hundreds of pacifists now being exempted on condition that they undertake some form of "agriculture" will find themselves permanently placed in the lowest category of industrial labour and regarded as social pariahs for a generation.

If, on the other hand, we are ready and willing to act creatively, by establishing now these pacifist agricultural centres all over the country, we might fulfil the dream of Kropotkin and create the pattern of the future.

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Cloistered Virtue

"I CANNOT praise," wrote Milton, "a fugitive and cloistered virtue that never sallies out and sees her adversary, but slinks out of the race, where that immortal garland is to be run for, not without dust and heat."

I think this challenge should strike home to a good many passive peace-lovers who, in a sincere effort to pursue a course better than the mass of their fellows, have become goody-goody rather than good, and becalmed rather than calm.

The instinct to withdraw from the wickedness and vanity of the world is understandable and necessary, but so is the impulse to publish as widely as possible the good news that "war shall be no more." Milton was quite right to judge virtue by its fruits, and how will anyone be able to taste the fruits if we do not hawk them from house to house, or contrive that they may be seen in our orchard and admired by the passing traveller?

Direct Appeal

So in spite of the difficulties and dangers of plain speaking, I would suggest that the simple and direct appeal to one's next-door neighbour to think over with greater care the moral position implied by his war-worship is still worth making.

Although the passion for non-violent resistance rests ultimately on contemplative and even mystical grounds, "we cannot at the shrine remain." However tragic the personal consequences, we must learn to face them with fortitude and even with joy. Otherwise it will be justly said that we gambled on victory and the soft way out—that we slunk in the cloister while others toiled in dust and heat.

A willingness to sacrifice possessions must always be, as it was for St. Francis, the positive proof of our faith in the spirit. It may be that even now, whether in the churches or outside any official boundary, an order of convinced pacifists could go into the highways preaching the redemption of society. And if the populace is too sunk in superstition, too absorbed in the crusade for Manimon, there are always the birds and flowers who have strange ways of passing on, through artists and other mad listeners, the startling affirmations of holy living. Merely to let a little fresh air into the haggard vigils of our compatriots is a service for which in happier times they may be grateful.

High Flying Ineffective

But idealism, like the bomber, becomes less effective if it flies high—if it is forced to fly high by the defensive fire lying in wait for it. And though in this case it has nothing more offensive than leaflets on board, the winged presence is treated as a destructive agent, and often crashes to annihilation as if it had the most sinister designs on the world below.

So, running for immortal garlands in the clouds, we are picked out one by one by the searchlights of practical commonsense, and go the way of spies and pirates. Nevertheless we must continue to sally forth on these enlightened raids, in the hope that messages from the skies will eventually conquer all hearts!

Walter Roberts

Pacifist Message in Bermondsey

Though primarily an organ through which an MP keeps in touch with his constituents, the *Bermondsey Labour Magazine* carries a valuable pacifist message every month.

For the Member is Dr. Alfred Salter, who is also a member of the National Council of the PPU. So effective is it that a writer in the *Daily Mirror* thought it worth while to attack it one day last week—incidentally while Dr. Salter was away from home recovering from a long illness.

Pacifists will be doing a useful service if they can help with the delivery of the magazine (only two hours per month are needed) from the Labour Institute, 60b Fort Road, Bermondsey.

ROY WALKER concludes his article on

THE P.P.U. & DEMOCRACY

I HAVE suggested that pacifism owes a great deal to democracy, and, as against Mr. Middleton Murry's view that democracy is unlikely to survive this war and that the Peace Pledge Union should not fight a rearguard action for democracy but preserve its resources for the great difficulties which lie ahead, I have argued that the PPU can only preserve its integrity by leaving at least some casualties on the democratic field.

I must now say why I think so.

THE Peace Pledge Union, as I understand it, has tried to produce a synthesis of reform from within and without; of moral education and social relief on the one hand and propaganda on the other.

Humanitarian work alone may become sentimentalism; it brings a movement into contact with the casualties of a given situation but does nothing directly to alter the situation which produces casualties. Propaganda alone verges on fanaticism; it is inhuman to offer starving men a remote new world order. Both are essential. Humanitarian work and propaganda are the two legs on which any realistic movement of reform must stand. It takes two legs to make a stride.

I know many will disagree. Humanitarian work is "the real thing." Propaganda is "just talking." I do not understand this distinction. Every one of us has been decisively influenced by the spoken and written word. I believe it is possible to do as much practical good by these means as by organizing soup-kitchens.

THE disappearance of the last vestiges of democratic institutions would, of course, mean the end of propaganda-work by a pacifist minority. Conversely, while PPU public meetings continue democracy is alive.

If we had nothing to say, the matter would be different. But if pacifism is concerned with the eternal verities it must always have something to say, and always a duty to say it.

This is the prime factor. There are others. Should we retire from the public eye, we should be thought to be silenced by events; cowards, fearing the ambiguous threat of the Defence Regulations; and our loud and numerous affirmations that we stand for democracy as unflinchingly as those in the armed forces would sound a little hollow.

MANY crowds are now difficult and hostile; but cannot our non-violence calm even a crowd of well-mean-

ing democrats? If not, then surely the general public must be pardoned for supposing that it would be inept in dealing with an invading army!

Surely some of us must counter the industrious work of Mr. Duff Cooper by reminding people that good will, generosity, forgiveness, reconciliation, are essentially good qualities, while hatred, fear, and anger are not. We shall at least be respected if we stand by our faith publicly and ridicule the suggestion that free discussion "undermines" democracy. As it is, many people look on us as timid well-meaning rabbits who vanish at the first sign of trouble. Should we emerge from our burrows only when the trouble is over we shall be asked why we've been hiding ourselves; dare we say simply that we were sparing the feelings of the public?

THERE are two possibilities in prospect. England may be invaded and defeated. If that happens, I do not believe the English people will quietly settle down under foreign totalitarian rule, or even under a puppet Government. Some form of non-violence may spring up.

We must have no illusions about it. It will have started at the wrong time and in the wrong spirit. But those of us who do not feel able to stand aloof from the imperfect world of our times will have to influence such a movement as much as possible in a non-violent direction. We shall only have the opportunity if we have wrestled from the public some respect for our courage and determination.

The other possibility is that the war will drag on. If so, it is vitally important that free speech—surely a major criterion of democracy?—should not die without a struggle, simply because no minority would carry on under difficulties.

I DO not believe that a struggle of this kind would be wasted even if it failed to save democracy. It will give a good account of pacifism, an example of bravery in the face of danger, fear, and prejudice, which will do more to keep our belief alive in the minds of men than a tactical withdrawal.

I do not think this is simply an invitation to martyrdom. I ask only that some of us should continue to do what we have always done.

Satyagraha means truth-force. And, as Milton said, "... though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously. . . to mis-doubt her strength. Let her and Falsehood grapple; who ever knew Truth put to the worse, in a free and open encounter?"

FACTS AND FIGURES

What Blockade Means

THESE figures for some of the more vital imports by certain of the countries occupied by the Germans show what the blockade means to those countries.

They are taken from *International Trade Statistics* for 1938, published by the League of Nations, but in the case of the two Scandinavian countries the figures are for 1937. The population is given in brackets after the name of each country.

Imports	,000s of metric tons
FRANCE (42,000,000)	
All foods	5,983
Cereals only	1,872
Fats	1,439
BELGIUM (8,250,000)	
All foods	4,146
Cereals only	2,448
Fats	359
NETHERLANDS (8,560,000)	
All foods	2,869.5
Cereals only	2,228
Fats	760
DENMARK (3,560,000)	
All foods	1,821
Cereals only	995
Fats	493
NORWAY (3,000,000)	
All foods	917.2
Cereals only	502.8
Fats	163.1

New "Peace Aims" Campaign

THE Executive Committee of the National Peace Council, at its meeting on August 15 adopted a manifesto appealing for a declaration "in the name of the Governments of the British Commonwealth indicating as precisely as possible the practical contributions which they would be willing to make to the realization of a new social and international order, as the basis of a genuine and enduring peace."

The council is to make the manifesto the basis of a considerable campaign.

The printed version of the manifesto, which it is hoped to distribute widely through the affiliated and associated organizations of the Council—including the Peace Pledge Union—urges group and individual resolutions and messages to Ministers and M.P.s in support of the main appeal of the statement. The council is also seeking to organize an influential signed memorial in support of the manifesto and is consulting with other organizations specially concerned in regard to the possibility of joint meetings on this issue to be held in London and other centres.

Single copies or a few copies of the manifesto will be supplied without charge by the National Peace Council (39, Victoria Street, London, S.W.1), but the charge for quantities is 2s. per 100, 15s. per 1,000 copies, post free.

BROKEN SIGNPOSTS

By John Barclay

THEY have smashed the signpost on Scafell Pike! By such puny gestures man exerts his will and tries to exasperate his neighbours—who are for the moment his enemies. The mountain Scafell retains its contours and scarcely seems to notice the loss.

Many a German boy visiting our Youth Hostels in the days before Hitler's régime must have clambered up the last slopes and read the sign pointing to Borrowdale and a warm welcome in the next of the Hostels beyond. That night English and Germans sang their folk songs round the fire and perhaps talked of the folly that was ours who fought as enemies at Paschendale in 1917. Now the folly is being repeated and we are removing the signposts and the labels on hostels to prevent some mythical parachutist—a German youth maybe—from finding his way down the mountainside should he be so unfortunate as to fall on its rugged slopes. The madness that seems to have seized many otherwise normal people has not yet penetrated into all the corners where friendship is generated. At Youth Hostels they still sing German songs and when one "patriot" raised his voice in protest the other night he was shouted down by a chorus of "why not?"

Up here in the Lakes there really is peace. No searchlights compete with the stars. No barbed wire shuts out the valleys—and except for a smashed signpost or two the mountains remain as before—supremely indifferent to the folly of man.

Recent Publications

FIRST BIG BATTLE OF THE WAR

In *Freedom's Battle* (Heinemann, 15s.) Senor del Vayo, Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic, has written an authoritative history of the Civil War in Spain.

In his prologue he calls it "the first great battle of the present war": and there is every justification for that view. The real chance of preventing Fascist domination of Europe lay in the successful defence of the Spanish Republic. The British and French complicity in the sinister farce of "non-intervention" sealed the fate of political democracy in Europe.

The policy of the British and French "democracies" in this crucial and symbolic issue was fatal. It was, incidentally, the great modern example of false pacifism as opposed to true. Del Vayo's history is worthy of his theme.

Sophia Sturge: A Memoir. By William R. Hughes. (Allen & Unwin) 5s. net. The most interesting pages of this recent account of a Quaker woman's life of service to humanity are those which tell of her work for the conscientious objectors at Dartmoor during the last war. They are a pertinent reminder that it is largely due to their steadfastness that the situation of the CO today is not far worse than it actually is. This steadfastness was strengthened by Miss Sturge's sympathy and devotion.

A third impression of Alexander Miller's pamphlet *Pacifism, Revolution and Community* (3d.) has been issued. This remains one of the best pacifist pamphlets we know, though we could have wished that the new preface, instead of merely posing the question: "What are the elements in Hitlerism which represent the historically inevitable and therefore are to be accepted, and what elements must be utterly refused and rejected at any cost?", had made some attempt to answer it.

Tolstoy's story, *Assarhadon, King of Syria*, a classic of pacifist literature—reprinted in *The Adelphi* for July, has now been published as a leaflet by Stephen Hobhouse, Failand, St. Catherine's, Broxbourne, Herts., price 1d. or, post free, four copies for 3d., thirteen for 9d., fifty for 2s. 6d. It is also obtainable from PPU headquarters.

Sybil Morrison's Appeal

Sybil Morrison, secretary of the Women's Peace Campaign, appealed at the London Sessions on Tuesday against the sentence of one month's imprisonment imposed upon her at Marlborough Street Police Court on July 15 for "using insulting words whereby a breach of the peace might have been caused."

Her appeal was dismissed with costs by Judge Fulton, but further action on her behalf is contemplated. The sentence arose out of a speech in Hyde Park.

John W. Cowling says

DON'T BE A FIFTH COLUMNIST

WE have our own Fifth Column inside the Peace Pledge Union! It consists of members whose apathy hinders the work done by others.

A few weeks ago after visiting groups in the Midlands and in Yorkshire, I told of the plans we had discussed for improving the distribution and circulation of *Peace News*. I stressed the need for individual members to play their part in putting those plans into effect.

Now I have resumed my travels (though I shall be back in London by the time these words appear): my talks with members in more Yorkshire groups and in Scotland confirm me in my belief that it now depends upon the members of the PPU whether or not this paper is to be permanently crippled by the wholesalers' refusal to handle it.

The canvassing of newsagents, of signatories of the Peace Pledge, and so on, is a job in which the prime need is a body of willing workers. It can't be left to a handful of keen people in each town and city.

I know that for many members it is difficult to find time for such work—but "many hands make light work" in this case. So don't be a Fifth Columnist if you want to see the influence of your own paper extended. Without your help it can't be done; with your help we can make the paper's circulation worthy of the cause.

A final word: most of those who read this aren't in our Fifth Column—if they were they probably wouldn't read the paper at all! If you know a member, therefore, who won't otherwise see this appeal, show it to him. And ask him—and yourself—what he is going to do about it.

And may we remind you that we are still in need of special funds to enable us to make sure of our position, from the point of view chiefly of printing and paper. We are still engaged in a struggle for existence, and the Fighting Fund is still appropriately named. As this week's leader says, there is fighting and fighting.

Please help to make it an appropriately large sum. Amounts received since we last mentioned the fund bring the total up to £305 17s. 6d.

What Does



★ Stand For?

A FULL summary of the position and activities of the Peace Pledge Union appears in this paper from time to time. As pressure on space prevents its publication every week, we hope new readers will either send for a copy of the last issue which contains it (June 21) or make sure of seeing it next time by placing a regular order for the paper.

The chief officers of the Union are:—Chairman: Dr. Alex Wood; Treasurer: Maurice L. Rowntree; Secretary: Stuart D. Morris.

Following are the present Sponsors of the P.P.U.:—

Vera Brittain; George M. L. Davies; Eric Gill; Dr. A. Herbert Gray; Laurence Housman; Aldous Huxley; John Middleton Murry; Max Plowman; Lord Ponsonby; Canon Charles E. Raven; Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.; Dr. Donald O. Soper; Dame Sybil Thorndike; Wilfred Wellock; Arthur Wragg.

For further particulars write PPU headquarters, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. to which also should be sent signatures to the pledge, which is the basis of membership:

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another."

NEWS OF C.O.s

WHEN a case of dismissal of a man because he was a conscientious objector was brought to his notice in the House of Commons on August 15, Mr. Ernest Bevin said, "I have stated previously that I strongly deprecate action of the kind alleged, but I have no authority to control employers' action in such circumstances."

Asked whether there was "any objection to a British firm preferring to employ genuine British men and women rather than conscientious objectors," he added:

I take the view very strongly that when the House of Commons carries a law giving to any minority a right, it is wrong for any citizen to try, by individual action, either by starving a man or doing anything else to deprecate the right which the House has conferred.

Council Decisions

Not all employers, fortunately, are trying to deprecate that right. Of local authorities we are informed that **Hull City Council and Blackburn Borough Council** have refused to take that course.

In the former case, however, it was only after the matter had been reopened by Councillor Kneeshaw, when a vote of 39 to 36 for dismissing COs was reversed by 35 to 34. Unlike their comrades in some places, the Labour minority voted solidly against dismissal.

Surrey County Council, on the other hand, has decided to give COs "leave without pay."

The Central Board for Conscientious Objectors has record of
86 councils which have dismissed COs;
33 which have suspended them for the duration;
13 which have given them "soldier's pay";
16 which are not dismissing them.

A Valuable Pamphlet

Another valuable publication of the Board is a 3d. pamphlet entitled *Court-Martial Guide and Friend*, which has been issued in response to a demand for a pamphlet of this kind similar to one issued in the last war. There are 21 COs known to the Board who have been arrested, seven of whom are serving court-martial sentences. Nearly 100 have been arrested for failure to attend medical examinations.

Amongst the information given in the pamphlet is that concerning assistance by a friend at a court-martial. It was doubtless compiled before Mrs. Grindley (a member of the Board, as well as of the Women's Peace Campaign and the Women's Co-operative Guild made history by being the first woman to appear as a "court-martial friend."

The colonel had his doubts about her right to appear, but he failed to get a ruling from the War Office debarring her. The three COs on whose behalf she spoke were each sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Advisory Bureau

The secretary of the Gravesend Bureau for COs is now Miss E. Hayward, 31 Pier Road, Rosherville, Gravesend.

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AN APPLICATION for exemption from all forms of military service which came before the South-Eastern Tribunal sitting in Bloomsbury County Court last week is of special interest to readers of *Peace News*, as the applicant lost his job as a linotype operator with the Walthamstow Press when that firm decided to cease printing this paper.

He was Henry Frederick Payey, aged 25, of Edmonton, now a full-time ARP worker. He said that he sought work at the Walthamstow Press two years ago, although he was then in employment, because he wanted to handle pacifist literature.

In spite of his new occupation, he was registered as a conscientious objector only on condition that he undertook agricultural work or forestry.

A Growing Practice

The August 16 issue of *The Friend* reports that it is now the practice of the Reading Tribunal "apparently to give no unconditional exemptions and very few conditional on present work being continued. Once sufficient evidence is forthcoming to show the genuineness of an applicant, he is usually directed to take up full-time agricultural, horticultural, or forestry work."

Both these reports, and particularly the latter, give point to the concern expressed by Max Plowman, on page 2 of this issue, for special attention to be given to making provision for the growing army of COs ordered to do agricultural work, lest neglect lead to the setting up of some form of slave-labour by the Government.

The Bedfordshire Education Committee even saw fit last week to act as if it were a special tribunal appointed to revise the decisions of a local tribunal.

One of its employees, a lecturer in science, had been exempted by the South-Eastern Tribunal on the alternative conditions of remaining in his work or taking up agriculture or forestry. But the education committee gave him notice (although he had just been granted a responsibility allowance for advanced work) and decided that he "should be told to seek work in agriculture or forestry."

C.B.C.O. Aids Non-Combatants

With reference to the suggested formation of a "Union of Non-Combatants" to protect the interests of men serving in Non-Combatant Corps, mentioned in last week's issue, Miss Nancy Browne, secretary of the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, writes:

I should like to emphasize that it is one of the functions of the Central Board of Conscientious Objectors to secure fair and equitable treatment for COs in all categories. To this end every effort has been made by the Board to protect the interests of non-combatant COs and we are at this moment in negotiation on their behalf.

C.O.s ORGANIZING IN AMERICA

Pacifists in the United States have not waited for the introduction of conscription there to set up machinery to help those who have conscientious objections to military service.

Reports from New York last week declared that although Congress has yet to pass the Conscription Bill, the registration of men for which it provides has been set tentatively for September 1. About 12 million men between the ages of 21 and 31 are expected to be affected by the Bill.

But ever since the middle of July an advisory board for COs has been meeting every Monday evening at 2 Stone Street, New York City, the address of the United Pacifist Committee, which sponsored it.

Flow of Problems

The offices of the member organizations of this committee (Fellowship of Reconciliation, War Resisters League, Women's International League, and others) have received increasing numbers of visitors with problems to discuss, and it was to meet the needs of these people and to prepare for the possibility of peace-time conscription, that the Metropolitan Board for Conscientious Objectors was established.

The Board consists of seven mem-

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Latest time for copy Tuesday morning.

SITUATIONS VACANT

SEMI-INVALID Lady (PPU) requires companion; board and lodging in return for light attendance; Colwyn Bay. Box 506, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST (25) unconditionally exempted seeks post as motor driver, Manchester district. G. Bradbury, 135 Davyhulme Rd., Stretford, Manchester.

NEEDED IMMEDIATELY, any non-war work whatsoever; CO (21), trying continue external student London University, and wife (Honours Languages); part or full time; London; together or separate. Box 507, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

PACIFIST PRINTER. Handbills, leaflets, programmes and general printing. — W. I. Bridgen, 239 Sellincourt Rd., London, S.W.17.

PACIFIST (19) requires situation with Accountancy; secondary school education, experience of Accountancy, Bookkeeping, Short-hand, Typewriting. Box 500, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

THERE is nothing more discouraging to our cause than unemployment caused by victimization. Help us to solve that problem by giving us your order large or small. 100 per cent PPU. Builders, Decorators, Plumbers. A. Findlater, 26 Stanley Rd., N.9.

WILL kind person(s) give war resister typing? MSS &c. Donald Kinver, "Chillaton," Loddswell, Kingsbridge, Devon.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform. Vegetarian Guest House. Alt. 600ft. For happy holidays or restful recuperation. Central heating, h. and c. water in bedrooms. — A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock.

HANTS (Country). Unconditionalist public school man (23), with very wide interests and eye on the future world order, would welcome one or two guests (paying if possible) of either sex, with similar interests, on short visits. Whoever replies must be intelligent and/or Christian and be very keenly interested in everything progressive for themselves and for the world. I should also like myself to visit others similarly situated. Box 503 *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LONDON: FOWLER, "Newlyn House," 9 Argyle Street, W.C.1. B. and B., 5s., double, 8s. 6d. Opposite St. Pancras Station. Tel. 3572.

MISCELLANEOUS

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST, 22 (quiet), would like to meet young lady same views. Box 505, *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

CYCLES: Britain's best at £5 18s. carriage paid; every necessary accessory, even to cyclometer. Made by over 40 years' established Harris Cycle Co., Coventry.

FIFTY Conscientious Objectors working on the land would be pleased to receive any books, games, &c., particularly a football and gear. Clopton Hall, Rattlesden, West Suffolk.

LONDON PPU members' meeting: Tues. Aug. 27, 7.45 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Memorial Club, Binney St., Oxford St., W.1.; Laurence Housman; chairman, John Barclay.

NON-COMBATANTS UNION. All accepting this alternative service should join the organization formed to protect their distinctive interests. Particulars sent on receipt of stamped addressed envelope. Melhuish, 44 The Mall, W.5.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

WANTED: CONTACT with pacifist greengrocer in or near London able and willing to dispose of large quantities of vegetables grown on pacifist land settlements in the Home Counties. Please reply to Box 504 *Peace News*, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

WANTED: LARGE unfurnished room as studio-living-room in pacifist house. Beatrice and Dorothy Hirschfeld, 65 Marchmont St., W.C.1.

bers and four co-chairmen under the general chairmanship of Dr. Evan W. Thomas, a CO during the last war who was imprisoned for his convictions, and chairman of the New York section of the War Resisters League.

At its opening session the board discussed the problem of a mechanic who was asked to work on tanks instead of automobiles, an alien who wanted "a really dangerous pacifist job in order to prove his courage and sincerity, and a man who, though he had given generously to the American Friends Service Committee for war relief, was under pressure in a firm which demands a 100 per cent record for American Red Cross contributions, which he believes to be helping to prepare the United States for war.